The 10-20-30 Plan and Persistent Poverty Counties

Updated February 8, 2018

Summary

Anti-poverty interventions that provide resources to local communities, based on the characteristics of those communities, have been of interest to Congress. One such policy, dubbed the "10-20-30 plan," was implemented in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA, P.L. 111-5). Title I, Section 105 of ARRA required the Secretary of Agriculture to allocate at least 10% of funds from three rural development program accounts to persistent poverty counties; that is, to counties that have had poverty rates of 20% or more for the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses. One notable characteristic of this plan is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently.

Research has suggested that areas for which the *poverty rate* (the percentage of the population that is below poverty) reaches 20% experience systemic problems that are more acute than in lower-poverty areas. Therefore, policy interventions at the community level (such as applying the 10-20-30 plan, to other programs besides those cited in ARRA), and not only at the individual or family level, could continue to be of interest to Congress.

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys. Currently, the only data sources that provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties are the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE); before the mid-1990s, the decennial census was the only source of county poverty estimates. Therefore, to determine whether an area is "persistently" poor in a time span that ends after the year 2000, it must first be decided whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used for the later part of that time span.

Lists of persistent poverty counties may differ by roughly 80 to 100 counties in a particular year, depending on the data source selected to compile the list and the rounding method used for the poverty rate estimates. When determining the method to be used to compile a list of persistent poverty counties, the following may be relevant to consider:

- Characteristics of interest: SAIPE is suited for poverty or median income alone; ACS for other topics in addition to poverty and income.

- Geographic areas of interest: SAIPE is recommended for counties and school districts only; ACS produces estimates for other small geographic areas as well.

- Reference period of estimate: SAIPE for one year; ACS for a five-year span.

- Rounding method for poverty rates: rounding to 20.0% (one decimal place) yields a shorter list than rounding to 20% (whole number).

- Poverty status is not defined for all persons: foster children (unrelated individuals under age 15), institutionalized persons, and residents of college dormitories are excluded; the homeless are not targeted by household surveys; and areas with large numbers of students living off-campus may have high poverty rates.

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Introduction

Anti-poverty interventions that provide resources to local communities, based on the characteristics of those communities, have been of interest to Congress. One such policy, dubbed the "10-20-30 plan," was implemented in the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act of 2009 (ARRA, P.L. 111-5). Title I, Section 105 of ARRA required the Secretary of Agriculture to allocate at least 10% of funds from three rural development program accounts to persistent poverty counties; that is, to counties that have had poverty rates of 20% or more for the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses.[1]

One notable characteristic of this plan is that it did not increase spending for the rural development programs addressed in ARRA, but rather targeted existing funds differently. Given Congress's interest both in addressing poverty and being mindful about levels of federal spending, several bills[2] introduced in the 115th Congress seek to apply similar 10-20-30 language to various programs and in different executive departments, though the bills vary slightly in their definitions of "persistent poverty counties." These bills include legislation for rural development, public works and economic development, technological innovation, and environmental response and compensation. Much of the language used in these bills was included in P.L. 115-31 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2017).[3]

This report explains why targeting funds to persistent poverty counties might be of interest, how "persistent poverty" is defined and measured and how different interpretations of the definition and different data source selections could yield different lists of counties identified as persistently

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[1] While the 1980-2000 period is actually 20 years, local communities have traditionally relied upon the decennial census data for small areas up to 10 years after their publication, hence the reference to "30 years." However, since the late 1990s newer data sources have become available for small communities at intervals shorter than 10 years, which has implications that will be discussed in this report.

[2] These are H.R. 244 (Consolidated Appropriations Act, 2017, which became P.L. 115-31), H.R. 3267 (Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2018), H.R. 3268 (Agricultural, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2018), H.R. 3280 (Financial Services and General Government Appropriations Act, 2018), (Interior and Environment, Agriculture and Rural Development, Commerce, Justice, Science, Financial Services and General Government, Homeland Security, Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, State and Foreign Operations, Transportation, Housing and Urban Development, Defense, Military Construction and Veterans Affairs, Legislative Branch, and Energy and Water Development Appropriations Act, 2018).

[3] The act included 10-20-30 language in numerous sections: Section 750, in reference to loans and grants for rural housing, business and economic development, and utilities; Section 539, in reference to grants authorized by the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 and grants authorized by section 27 of the Stevenson-Wydler Technology Innovation Act of 1980; Division E, Title I, in reference to the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund Program Account; and Division G, Title II, in reference to the Comprehensive Environmental Response, Compensation, and Liability Act of 1980 and its role in providing state and tribal assistance grants. The sections varied in the data sources used to define "persistent poverty counties," which means the sections varied in the lists of counties targeted. This report discusses how data source selection can affect the list of counties identified as persistently poor.

In the 114th Congress, 10-20-30 language was included in H.R. 1360 (America's FOCUS Act of 2015), H.R. 5393 (Commerce, Justice, Science, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), H.R. 5054 (Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), H.R. 5538 (Department of the Interior, Environment, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, 2017), and S. 3067 and H.R. 5485 (Financial Services and General Government Appropriations Act, 2017), none of which were enacted into law. However, both P.L. 115-31 and the bills cited in footnote 2 above used language analogous to the bills introduced in the 114th Congress, with some modification.

Additionally, in the 113th Congress, H.R. 5571 (The 10-20-30 Act of 2014) was introduced and referred to committee but not passed.

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poor. This report does not compare the 10-20-30 plan's advantages and disadvantages against other policy options, nor does it examine the range of programs or policy goals for which the 10-20-30 plan might be an appropriate policy tool.

Motivation for Targeting Funds to Persistent Poverty Counties

Research has suggested that areas for which the *poverty rate* (the percentage of the population that is below poverty) reaches 20% experience systemic problems that are more acute than in lower-poverty areas. The poverty rate of 20% as a critical point has been discussed in academic literature as relevant for examining social characteristics of high-poverty versus low-poverty areas.[4] For instance, property values in high-poverty areas do not yield as high a return on investment as in low-poverty areas, and that low return provides a financial disincentive for property owners to spend money on maintaining and improving property.[5] The ill effects of high poverty rates have been documented both for urban and rural areas.[6] Therefore, policy interventions at the community level, and not only at the individual or family level, could be of interest to Congress.

Defining "Persistent Poverty" Counties

Computing the Poverty Rate for an Area

Poverty rates are computed by the Census Bureau for the nation, states, and smaller geographic areas such as counties.[7] The official definition of poverty in the United States is based on the

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[4] For instance, George Galster of Wayne State University conducted a literature review that suggested "that the independent impacts of neighborhood poverty rates in encouraging negative outcomes for individuals like crime, school leaving, and duration of poverty spells appear to be nil unless the neighborhood exceeds about 20 percent poverty." Galster distinguishes the effects of living in a poor neighborhood from the effects of being poor oneself but not necessarily in a poor neighborhood. Cited in George C. Galster, "The Mechanism(s) of Neighborhood Effects: Theory, Evidence, and Policy Implications," presented at the Economic and Social Research Council Seminar, "Neighbourhood Effects: Theory & Evidence," St. Andrews University, Scotland, UK, February 2010.

Additionally, the Census Bureau has published a series of reports examining local areas (census tracts) with poverty rates of 20% or greater. See, for instance, Alemayehu Bishaw, "Changes in Areas With Concentrated Poverty: 2000 to 2010," U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey Reports ACS-27, June 2014; and Leatha Lamison-White, "Poverty Areas," U.S. Census Bureau Statistical Brief, June 1995.

[5] The effects of poverty rates on property values are explored by George C. Galster, Jackie M. Cutsinger, and Ron Malega in "The Costs of Concentrated Poverty: Neighborhood Property Markets and the Dynamics of Decline," pp. 93-113 in N. Retsinas and E. Belsky, eds., *Revisiting Rental Housing: Policies, Programs, and Priorities* (Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2008). They indicate that "the relationship between changes in a neighborhood's poverty rate and maintenance choices by local residential property owners will be lumpy and non-linear. Substantial variations in poverty rates in the low-moderate range yield no deviations in the owner's decision to highly maintain the building.... Past some percentage of poverty, however, the owner will switch to an undermaintenance mode whereby net depreciation will occur."

[6] See, for instance, a 2008 report issued jointly by the Federal Reserve System and the Brookings Institution, "The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America: Case Studies from Communities Across the U.S.," David Erickson et al., eds., 2008. Additional research into concentrated poverty in both rural and urban areas has been undertaken for decades; for example, educational attainment and health disability were discussed in a rural context by Calvin Beale in "Income and Poverty," chapter 11 in Glenn V. Fuguitt, David L. Brown, and Calvin L. Beale, eds., *Rural and Small Town America,* Russell Sage Foundation, 1988.

[7] There are actually two definitions of poverty used in the United States: one for statistical purposes, which is used by

money income of families and unrelated individuals. Income from each family member (if family members are present) is added together and compared against a dollar amount called a *poverty threshold,* which represents a level of economic hardship and varies according to the size and characteristics of the family (ranging from one person to nine persons or more). Families (or unrelated individuals) whose income is less than their respective poverty threshold are considered to be in poverty.[8]

Every person in a family has the same poverty status. Thus, it is possible to compute a poverty rate based on counts of persons (dividing the number of persons below poverty within a county by the county's total population,[9] and multiplying by 100 to express as a percentage).

Data Sources Used in Identifying Persistent Poverty Counties

Poverty rates are computed using data from household surveys. Currently, the only data sources that provide poverty estimates for all U.S. counties are the American Community Survey (ACS) and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE). Before the mid-1990s, the only poverty data available at the county level came from the Decennial Census of Population and Housing, which was only collected once every 10 years, and used to be the only source of estimates that could determine whether a county had persistently high poverty rates (ARRA referred explicitly to decennial census poverty estimates for that purpose). However, after Census 2000, the decennial census no longer collects income information, and as a result cannot be used to compute poverty estimates. Therefore, to determine whether an area is persistently poor in a time span that ends after 2000, it must first be decided whether ACS or SAIPE poverty estimates will be used for the later part of that time span.

The ACS and the SAIPE program serve different purposes. The ACS was developed to provide continuous measurement of a wide range of topics similar to that formerly provided by the decennial census long form, available down to the local community level. ACS data for all counties are available annually, but are based on responses over the previous five-year time span (e.g., 2012-2016). The SAIPE program was developed specifically for estimating poverty at the county level for school-age children and for the overall population, for use in funding allocations for the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. SAIPE data are also available annually, and reflect one calendar year, not five. However, unlike the ACS, SAIPE does not provide estimates for a wide array of topics. For further details about the data sources for county poverty estimates, see the **Appendix**.

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the Census Bureau and described in Statistical Policy Directive 14 by the Office of Management and Budget; and the other for administrative purposes, which is used by the Department of Health and Human Services and is referred to in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981. Measuring the poverty rates of counties, which are in turn used in the 10-20-30 plan, is a statistical use of poverty data; thus, the statistical definition of poverty (used by the Census Bureau) applies.

[8] For further details about the official definition of poverty, see CRS Report R44780, *An Introduction to Poverty Measurement*, by Joseph Dalaker.

[9] Poverty rates are computed using adjusted population totals because there are some individuals whose poverty status is not determined. These include unrelated individuals under age 15, such as foster children, who are not asked income questions and who are not related to anyone else in their residence by birth, marriage, or adoption; persons living in military barracks; and persons in institutions such as nursing homes or prisons. Some surveys (such as those described in this report) do not compute poverty status for persons living in college dormitories. These persons are excluded from the total population when computing poverty rates. Furthermore, people who have no traditional housing and who do not live in shelters are typically not sampled in household surveys.

Considerations When Identifying and Targeting Persistent Poverty Counties

Selecting the Data Source: Strengths and Limitations of ACS and SAIPE Poverty Data

Because poverty estimates can be obtained from multiple data sources, the Census Bureau has provided guidance on the most suitable data source to use for various purposes.[10]

Characteristics of Interest: SAIPE for Poverty Alone; ACS for Other Topics in Addition to Poverty

The Census Bureau recommends using SAIPE poverty estimates when estimates are needed at the county level, especially for counties with small populations, and when additional demographic and economic detail is not needed at that level.[11] When additional detail is required, such as for county-level poverty estimates by race and Hispanic origin, detailed age groups (aside from the elementary and secondary school-age population), housing characteristics, or education level, the ACS is the data source recommended by the Census Bureau.

Geographic Area of Interest: SAIPE for Counties and School Districts Only; ACS for Other Small Areas

For counties (and school districts) of small population size, SAIPE data have an advantage over ACS data in that the SAIPE model uses administrative data to help reduce the uncertainty of the estimates. However, ACS estimates are available for a wider array of geographic levels, such as ZIP code tabulation areas, census tracts (sub-county areas of roughly 1,200 to 8,000 people), cities and towns, and greater metropolitan areas.

Reference Period of Estimate: SAIPE for One Year, ACS for a Five-Year Span

While the ACS has greater flexibility in the topics measured and the geographic areas provided, it can only provide estimates in five-year ranges for the smallest geographic areas. Five years of survey responses are needed to obtain a sample large enough to produce meaningful estimates for populations below 65,000 persons. In this sense the SAIPE data, because they are based on a single year, are more current than the data of the ACS. The distinction has to do with the reference period of the data—both data sources release data on an annual basis; the ACS estimates for small areas are based on the prior five years, not the prior year alone.

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[10] This guidance is posted on the Census Bureau's website at https://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html, and is reproduced in the **Appendix**.

[11] SAIPE county-level estimates are available for the poverty status of the total population, persons under age 18, and related children ages 5 to 17 living in families, and for median household income.

Other Considerations

Treatment of Special Populations in the Official Poverty Definition

Poverty status is not defined for persons in institutions, such as nursing homes or prisons, nor for persons residing in military barracks. These populations are excluded from totals when computing poverty statistics. Furthermore, the homeless population is not counted explicitly in poverty statistics. The ACS is a household survey, thus homeless individuals who are not in shelters are not counted. SAIPE estimates are partially based on Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) administrative data and tax data, so the part of the homeless population that either filed tax returns or received SNAP benefits might be reflected in the estimates, but only implicitly.

In the decennial census, ACS, and SAIPE estimates, poverty status also is not defined for persons living in college dormitories.[12] However, students who live in off-campus housing are included. Because college students tend to have lower money income (which does not include school loans) than average, counties that have large populations of students living off-campus may exhibit higher poverty rates than one might expect given other economic measures for the area, such as the unemployment rate.[13]

Given the ways that the special populations above either are or are not reflected in poverty statistics, it may be worthwhile to consider whether counties that have large numbers of people in those populations would receive an equitable allocation of funds. Other economic measures may be of use, depending on the type of program for which funds are being targeted.

"Persistence" Versus Flexibility to Recent Situations

The 10-20-30 plan was developed to identify counties with persistently high poverty rates. Therefore, using that funding approach by itself would not allow flexibility to target counties that have recently fallen on hard times, such as counties that had a large manufacturing plant close within the past three years. Other interventions besides the 10-20-30 plan may be more appropriate for counties that have had a recent spike in the poverty rate.

Effects of Rounding and Data Source Selection on Lists of Counties

In ARRA, persistent poverty counties were defined as "any county that has had 20 percent or more of its population living in poverty over the past 30 years, as measured by the 1980, 1990, and 2000 decennial censuses."[14] Poverty rates published by the Census Bureau are typically reported to one decimal place. The numeral used in the ARRA language was the whole number 20. Thus, for any collection of poverty data, there are two reasonable approaches to compiling a list of persistent poverty counties: using poverty rates of at least 20.0% in all three years, or using

[12] Details on the poverty universe in the ACS are available at https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/tech_docs/subject_definitions/2016_ACSSubjectDefinitions.pdf#page=108 and for the SAIPE estimates at https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/guidance/model-input-data/denominators/poverty.html.

[13] For some counties, the percentage-point difference could be large when off-campus students are excluded. Using ACS data for 2009-2011, Whitman County, WA, experienced the largest poverty rate difference among all counties when off-campus students were excluded—its poverty rate fell by 16.5 percentage points. For the United States as a whole, the poverty rate fell from 15.2% to 14.5% when off-campus students were excluded (based on the same dataset). For details, see Alemayehu Bishaw, "Examining the Effect of Off-Campus College Students on Poverty Rates," Working Paper SEHSD 2013-17, U.S. Census Bureau, May 1, 2013.

[14] P.L. 111-5, Section 105.

poverty rates that *round up* to the whole number 20% or greater in all three years (i.e., poverty rates of 19.5% or more in all three years). The former approach is more restrictive and results in a shorter list of counties; the latter approach is more inclusive.

Table 1 illustrates the number of counties identified as persistent poverty counties using the 1990 and 2000 decennial censuses, and various ACS and SAIPE datasets for the last data point, under both rounding schemes. The rounding method and data source selection can have a large impact on the number of counties listed. Approximately 30 more counties appear in SAIPE-based lists compared to ACS-based lists using the same rounding method. Compared to using 20.0% as the cutoff (rounded to one decimal place), rounding up to 20% from 19.5% adds approximately 50 to 60 counties to the list. Taking both the data source and the rounding method together, the list of persistent poverty counties could vary by roughly 80 to 100 counties in a given year depending on the method used.

Table 1. Number of Counties Identified as Persistently Poor, Using Different Datasets and Rounding Methods

Counties identified as having poverty rates of 20% or more (applying rounding methods as indicated below) in 1989 (from 1990 Census), 1999 (from Census 2000), and latest year from datasets indicated below.

Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
ACS, 2007-2011	397	445	48
ACS, 2008-2012	404	456	52
ACS, 2009-2013	402	458	56
ACS, 2010-2014	401	456	55
ACS, 2011-2015	397	453	56
ACS, 2012-2016	392	446	54
			Mean difference: 53.50
SAIPE, 2011	433	495	62
SAIPE, 2012	435	491	56
SAIPE, 2013	427	490	63
SAIPE, 2014	427	486	59
SAIPE, 2015	419	476	57
SAIPE, 2016	420	469	49
			Mean difference: 57.67
Differences between datasets released in same year			
Difference, SAIPE 2011 minus ACS 2007-2011	36	50	
Difference, SAIPE 2012 minus ACS 2008-2012	31	35	
Difference, SAIPE 2013 minus ACS 2009-2013	25	32	

Dataset	Rounded to One Decimal Place (20.0% or Greater)	Rounded to Whole Number (19.5% or Greater)	Difference Between Rounding Methods
Difference, SAIPE 2014 minus ACS 2010-2014	26	30	
Difference, SAIPE 2015 minus ACS 2011-2015	22	23	
Difference, SAIPE 2016 minus ACS 2012-2016	28	23	
Mean difference	28.00	32.17	

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2012-2016 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and American Community Survey 5-Year Estimates for 2007-2011, 2008-2012, 2009-2013, 2010-2014, 2011-2015, and 2012-2016.

Notes: ACS = American Community Survey. SAIPE = Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates. Comparisons between ACS and SAIPE estimates are between datasets released in the same year (both are typically released in December of the year following the reference period). There are 3,143 county-type areas in the United States.

The selection of the data source and rounding method has a large effect on the number of counties identified as being in persistent poverty. The longest list of persistent poverty counties (SAIPE, 19.5% or greater, that is, rounded up to the whole number 20%) minus the shortest list of persistent poverty counties (ACS, 20.0% or greater) yields the maximum difference. Comparing datasets that were released in the same year, the maximum differences in the lists of counties were

SAIPE 2011, whole number - ACS, 2007-2011, one decimal = 98 counties
SAIPE 2012, whole number - ACS, 2008-2012, one decimal = 87
SAIPE 2013, whole number - ACS, 2009-2013, one decimal = 88
SAIPE 2014, whole number - ACS, 2010-2014, one decimal = 85
SAIPE 2015, whole number - ACS, 2011-2015, one decimal = 79
SAIPE 2016, whole number - ACS, 2012-2016, one decimal = 77

The lists of persistent poverty counties varied by about 86 counties on average (mean: 85.67), depending on which data source is used for the last data point in the 30-year span, and which rounding method is applied to identify persistent poverty.

Example List of Persistent Poverty Counties

The list of persistent poverty counties below (**Table 2**) is based on data from the 1990 Census, Census 2000, and the 2016 SAIPE estimates, and included counties with poverty rates of 19.5% or greater (that is, counties with poverty rates that were at least 20% with rounding applied to the whole number). These same counties are mapped in **Figure 1**.

Table 2. List of Persistent Poverty Counties, Based on 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2016 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE), Using Poverty Rates of 19.5% or Greater

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2016, from SAIPE	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]
1	01005	Alabama	Barbour	25.2	26.8	29.9	2
2	01007	Alabama	Bibb	21.2	20.6	20.1	6
3	01011	Alabama	Bullock	36.5	33.5	32.6	2
4	01013	Alabama	Butler	31.5	24.6	24.8	2
5	01023	Alabama	Choctaw	30.2	24.5	22.7	7
6	01025	Alabama	Clarke	25.9	22.6	29.0	1,7
7	01035	Alabama	Conecuh	29.7	26.6	28.1	2
8	01041	Alabama	Crenshaw	24.3	22.1	20.5	2
9	01047	Alabama	Dallas	36.2	31.1	35.4	7
10	01053	Alabama	Escambia	28.1	20.9	23.3	1
11	01061	Alabama	Geneva	19.5	19.6	20.9	2
12	01063	Alabama	Greene	45.6	34.3	34.0	7
13	01065	Alabama	Hale	35.6	26.9	23.7	7
14	01085	Alabama	Lowndes	38.6	31.4	31.7	7
15	01087	Alabama	Macon	34.5	32.8	30.0	3
16	01091	Alabama	Marengo	30.0	25.9	25.8	7
17	01099	Alabama	Monroe	22.7	21.3	25.7	1
18	01105	Alabama	Perry	42.6	35.4	35.0	7
19	01107	Alabama	Pickens	28.9	24.9	25.8	7
20	01109	Alabama	Pike	27.2	23.1	25.1	2
21	01119	Alabama	Sumter	39.7	38.7	32.4	7
22	01131	Alabama	Wilcox	45.2	39.9	31.9	7
23	02050	Alaska	Bethel Census Area	30.0	20.6	25.5	at large
24	02070	Alaska	Dillingham Census Area	24.6	21.4	19.6	at large
25	02158	Alaska	Kusilvak Census Area[b]	31.0	26.2	37.8	at large
26	02290	Alaska	Yukon-Koyukuk Census Area	26.0	23.8	23.0	at large
27	04001	Arizona	Apache	47.1	37.8	33.2	1
28	04009	Arizona	Graham	26.7	23.0	22.9	1
29	04012	Arizona	La Paz	28.2	19.6	24.8	4
30	04017	Arizona	Navajo	34.7	29.5	28.2	1
31	04023	Arizona	Santa Cruz	26.4	24.5	20.9	3

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2016, from SAIPE	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]
32	05011	Arkansas	Bradley	24.9	26.3	23.5	4
33	05017	Arkansas	Chicot	40.4	28.6	30.1	1
34	05027	Arkansas	Columbia	24.4	21.1	24.2	4
35	05035	Arkansas	Crittenden	27.1	25.3	25.5	1
36	05041	Arkansas	Desha	34.0	28.9	26.5	1
37	05057	Arkansas	Hempstead	22.7	20.3	20.7	4
38	05069	Arkansas	Jefferson	23.9	20.5	23.3	1,4
39	05073	Arkansas	Lafayette	34.7	23.2	27.4	4
40	05077	Arkansas	Lee	47.3	29.9	35.9	1
41	05079	Arkansas	Lincoln	26.2	19.5	27.6	1
42	05093	Arkansas	Mississippi	26.2	23.0	24.6	1
43	05095	Arkansas	Monroe	35.9	27.5	27.0	1
44	05099	Arkansas	Nevada	20.3	22.8	20.4	4
45	05101	Arkansas	Newton	29.6	20.4	19.9	3,4
46	05103	Arkansas	Ouachita	21.2	19.5	24.7	4
47	05107	Arkansas	Phillips	43.0	32.7	32.3	1
48	05111	Arkansas	Poinsett	25.6	21.2	22.7	1
49	05123	Arkansas	St. Francis	36.6	27.5	31.6	1
50	05129	Arkansas	Searcy	29.9	23.8	23.1	1,3
51	05147	Arkansas	Woodruff	34.5	27.0	26.3	1
52	06019	California	Fresno	21.4	22.9	25.5	4,16,21,22
53	06025	California	Imperial	23.8	22.6	23.6	51
54	06047	California	Merced	19.9	21.7	20.3	16
55	06107	California	Tulare	22.6	23.9	24.7	21,22,23
56	08003	Colorado	Alamosa	24.8	21.3	24.8	3
57	08011	Colorado	Bent	20.4	19.5	34.1	4
58	08021	Colorado	Conejos	33.9	23.0	22.7	3
59	08023	Colorado	Costilla	34.6	26.8	30.4	3
60	08099	Colorado	Prowers	21.0	19.5	20.9	4
61	08109	Colorado	Saguache	30.6	22.6	27.6	3
62	12001	Florida	Alachua	23.5	22.8	22.3	3
63	12039	Florida	Gadsden	28.0	19.9	20.6	5
64	12047	Florida	Hamilton	27.8	26.0	28.9	5
65	12049	Florida	Hardee	22.8	24.6	23.8	17
66	12079	Florida	Madison	25.9	23.1	31.9	5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2016, from SAIPE	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]
67	12107	Florida	Putnam	20.0	20.9	21.5	3
68	13003	Georgia	Atkinson	26.0	23.0	26.4	8
69	13005	Georgia	Bacon	24.1	23.7	22.9	1
70	13007	Georgia	Baker	24.8	23.4	27.8	2
71	13017	Georgia	Ben Hill	22.0	22.3	26.4	8
72	13027	Georgia	Brooks	25.9	23.4	24.9	8
73	13031	Georgia	Bulloch	27.5	24.5	24.0	12
74	13033	Georgia	Burke	30.3	28.7	26.7	12
75	13037	Georgia	Calhoun	31.8	26.5	33.0	2
76	13043	Georgia	Candler	24.1	26.1	25.0	12
77	13059	Georgia	Clarke	27.0	28.3	27.9	9,10
78	13061	Georgia	Clay	35.7	31.3	35.2	2
79	13065	Georgia	Clinch	26.4	23.4	26.0	1
80	13071	Georgia	Colquitt	22.8	19.8	25.0	8
81	13075	Georgia	Cook	22.4	20.7	25.1	8
82	13081	Georgia	Crisp	29.0	29.3	30.3	2
83	13087	Georgia	Decatur	23.3	22.7	29.9	2
84	13093	Georgia	Dooly	32.9	22.1	28.5	2
85	13095	Georgia	Dougherty	24.4	24.8	30.5	2
86	13099	Georgia	Early	31.4	25.7	31.4	2
87	13107	Georgia	Emanuel	25.7	27.4	27.4	12
88	13109	Georgia	Evans	25.4	27.0	24.4	12
89	13131	Georgia	Grady	22.3	21.3	21.0	2
90	13141	Georgia	Hancock	30.1	29.4	33.5	10
91	13163	Georgia	Jefferson	31.3	23.0	25.2	10
92	13165	Georgia	Jenkins	27.8	28.4	34.2	12
93	13167	Georgia	Johnson	22.2	22.6	29.4	10
94	13193	Georgia	Macon	29.2	25.8	32.1	2
95	13197	Georgia	Marion	28.2	22.4	23.4	2
96	13201	Georgia	Miller	22.1	21.2	23.1	2
97	13205	Georgia	Mitchell	28.7	26.4	29.9	2
98	13209	Georgia	Montgomery	24.5	19.9	22.7	12
99	13225	Georgia	Peach	24.0	20.2	21.4	2
100	13239	Georgia	Quitman	33.0	21.9	27.1	2
101	13243	Georgia	Randolph	35.9	27.7	30.5	2

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102	13251	Georgia	Screven	22.9	20.1	27.6	12
103	13253	Georgia	Seminole	29.1	23.2	23.4	2
104	13259	Georgia	Stewart	31.4	22.2	39.2	2
105	13261	Georgia	Sumter	24.8	21.4	28.9	2
106	13263	Georgia	Talbot	24.9	24.2	23.5	2
107	13265	Georgia	Taliaferro	31.9	23.4	28.8	10
108	13267	Georgia	Tattnall	21.9	23.9	29.8	12
109	13269	Georgia	Taylor	29.5	26.0	24.7	2
110	13271	Georgia	Telfair	27.3	21.2	30.8	8
111	13273	Georgia	Terrell	29.1	28.6	31.1	2
112	13277	Georgia	Tift	22.9	19.9	22.1	8
113	13279	Georgia	Toombs	24.0	23.9	23.4	12
114	13283	Georgia	Treutlen	27.1	26.3	27.1	12
115	13287	Georgia	Turner	31.3	26.7	30.4	8
116	13289	Georgia	Twiggs	26.0	19.7	23.5	8
117	13299	Georgia	Ware	21.1	20.5	25.5	1
118	13301	Georgia	Warren	32.6	27.0	28.2	10
119	13303	Georgia	Washington	21.6	22.9	26.9	10
120	13309	Georgia	Wheeler	30.3	25.3	39.1	12
121	13315	Georgia	Wilcox	28.6	21.0	31.0	8
122	16065	Idaho	Madison	28.6	30.5	24.1	2
123	17003	Illinois	Alexander	32.2	26.1	29.0	12
124	17059	Illinois	Gallatin	21.4	20.7	20.5	15
125	17077	Illinois	Jackson	28.4	25.2	23.4	12
126	17153	Illinois	Pulaski	30.2	24.7	21.1	12
127	21001	Kentucky	Adair	25.1	24.0	26.1	1
128	21011	Kentucky	Bath	27.3	21.9	24.9	6
129	21013	Kentucky	Bell	36.2	31.1	38.7	5
130	21025	Kentucky	Breathitt	39.5	33.2	34.3	5
131	21043	Kentucky	Carter	26.8	22.3	22.6	5
132	21045	Kentucky	Casey	29.4	25.5	27.8	1
133	21051	Kentucky	Clay	40.2	39.7	42.1	5
134	21053	Kentucky	Clinton	38.1	25.8	25.3	1
135	21057	Kentucky	Cumberland	31.6	23.8	25.3	1
136	21063	Kentucky	Elliott	38.0	25.9	30.7	5

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137	21065	Kentucky	Estill	29.0	26.4	27.3	6
138	21071	Kentucky	Floyd	31.2	30.3	30.4	5
139	21075	Kentucky	Fulton	30.3	23.1	30.0	1
140	21095	Kentucky	Harlan	33.1	32.5	37.1	5
141	21099	Kentucky	Hart	27.1	22.4	21.8	2
142	21109	Kentucky	Jackson	38.2	30.2	31.9	5
143	21115	Kentucky	Johnson	28.7	26.6	25.9	5
144	21119	Kentucky	Knott	40.4	31.1	38.2	5
145	21121	Kentucky	Knox	38.9	34.8	39.2	5
146	21125	Kentucky	Laurel	24.8	21.3	23.2	5
147	21127	Kentucky	Lawrence	36.0	30.7	27.1	5
148	21129	Kentucky	Lee	37.4	30.4	39.0	5
149	21131	Kentucky	Leslie	35.6	32.7	31.8	5
150	21133	Kentucky	Letcher	31.8	27.1	31.6	5
151	21135	Kentucky	Lewis	30.7	28.5	26.8	4
152	21137	Kentucky	Lincoln	27.2	21.1	22.9	5
153	21147	Kentucky	McCreary	45.5	32.2	39.3	5
154	21153	Kentucky	Magoffin	42.5	36.6	31.9	5
155	21159	Kentucky	Martin	35.4	37.0	39.3	5
156	21165	Kentucky	Menifee	35.0	29.6	24.1	6
157	21169	Kentucky	Metcalfe	27.9	23.6	22.7	1
158	21171	Kentucky	Monroe	26.9	23.4	23.2	1
159	21175	Kentucky	Morgan	38.8	27.2	27.2	5
160	21177	Kentucky	Muhlenberg	20.7	19.7	19.6	1
161	21189	Kentucky	Owsley	52.1	45.4	45.2	5
162	21193	Kentucky	Perry	32.1	29.1	30.9	5
163	21195	Kentucky	Pike	25.4	23.4	31.4	5
164	21197	Kentucky	Powell	26.2	23.5	26.5	6
165	21201	Kentucky	Robertson	24.8	22.2	24.6	6
166	21203	Kentucky	Rockcastle	30.7	23.1	24.2	5
167	21205	Kentucky	Rowan	28.9	21.3	25.4	5
168	21207	Kentucky	Russell	25.6	24.3	25.0	1
169	21231	Kentucky	Wayne	37.3	29.4	26.9	5
170	21235	Kentucky	Whitley	33.0	26.4	29.3	5
171	21237	Kentucky	Wolfe	44.3	35.9	32.2	6

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172	22001	Louisiana	Acadia Parish	30.5	24.5	23.1	3
173	22003	Louisiana	Allen Parish	29.9	19.9	21.4	4
174	22007	Louisiana	Assumption Parish	28.2	21.8	21.2	2,6
175	22009	Louisiana	Avoyelles Parish	37.1	25.9	25.9	5
176	22013	Louisiana	Bienville Parish	31.2	26.1	23.5	4
177	22017	Louisiana	Caddo Parish	24.0	21.1	26.4	4
178	22021	Louisiana	Caldwell Parish	28.8	21.2	22.6	5
179	22025	Louisiana	Catahoula Parish	36.8	28.1	27.5	5
180	22027	Louisiana	Claiborne Parish	32.0	26.5	34.9	4
181	22029	Louisiana	Concordia Parish	30.6	29.1	28.5	5
182	22031	Louisiana	De Soto Parish	29.8	25.1	21.1	4
183	22035	Louisiana	East Carroll Parish	56.8	40.5	43.5	5
184	22037	Louisiana	East Feliciana Parish	25.0	23.0	20.0	5,6
185	22039	Louisiana	Evangeline Parish	35.1	32.2	29.4	4
186	22041	Louisiana	Franklin Parish	34.5	28.4	29.2	5
187	22043	Louisiana	Grant Parish	25.5	21.5	21.5	5
188	22045	Louisiana	Iberia Parish	25.8	23.6	23.4	3
189	22047	Louisiana	Iberville Parish	28.0	23.1	22.8	2,6
190	22049	Louisiana	Jackson Parish	23.9	19.8	21.2	5
191	22061	Louisiana	Lincoln Parish	26.6	26.5	30.2	5
192	22065	Louisiana	Madison Parish	44.6	36.7	41.3	5
193	22067	Louisiana	Morehouse Parish	31.0	26.8	28.7	5
194	22069	Louisiana	Natchitoches Parish	33.9	26.5	31.9	4
195	22071	Louisiana	Orleans Parish	31.6	27.9	24.1	1,2
196	22073	Louisiana	Ouachita Parish	24.7	20.7	24.5	5
197	22077	Louisiana	Pointe Coupee Parish	30.3	23.1	19.7	6
198	22079	Louisiana	Rapides Parish	22.6	20.5	19.9	5
199	22081	Louisiana	Red River Parish	35.1	29.9	26.3	4
200	22083	Louisiana	Richland Parish	33.2	27.9	27.2	5
201	22091	Louisiana	St. Helena Parish	34.4	26.8	24.7	5,6
202	22097	Louisiana	St. Landry Parish	36.3	29.3	26.6	3,4,5
203	22101	Louisiana	St. Mary Parish	27.0	23.6	22.2	3
204	22105	Louisiana	Tangipahoa Parish	31.5	22.7	21.5	1,5
205	22107	Louisiana	Tensas Parish	46.3	36.3	31.6	5
206	22113	Louisiana	Vermilion Parish	26.5	22.1	19.6	3

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207	22117	Louisiana	Washington Parish	31.6	24.7	27.8	5
208	22119	Louisiana	Webster Parish	25.1	20.2	24.1	4
209	22123	Louisiana	West Carroll Parish	27.4	23.4	23.8	5
210	22125	Louisiana	West Feliciana Parish	33.8	19.9	23.7	5
211	22127	Louisiana	Winn Parish	27.5	21.5	24.3	5
212	24510	Maryland	Baltimore city	21.9	22.9	21.8	2,3,7
213	26073	Michigan	Isabella	24.9	20.4	23.4	4
214	28001	Mississippi	Adams	30.5	25.9	31.4	3
215	28005	Mississippi	Amite	30.9	22.6	24.0	3
216	28007	Mississippi	Attala	30.2	21.8	23.8	2
217	28009	Mississippi	Benton	29.7	23.2	25.3	1
218	28011	Mississippi	Bolivar	42.9	33.3	35.3	2
219	28017	Mississippi	Chickasaw	21.3	20.0	22.2	1
220	28019	Mississippi	Choctaw	25.0	24.7	23.1	1
221	28021	Mississippi	Claiborne	43.6	32.4	38.2	2
222	28023	Mississippi	Clarke	23.4	23.0	20.9	3,4
223	28025	Mississippi	Clay	25.9	23.5	23.9	1
224	28027	Mississippi	Coahoma	45.5	35.9	41.2	2
225	28029	Mississippi	Copiah	32.0	25.1	27.1	2
226	28031	Mississippi	Covington	31.2	23.5	23.5	3
227	28035	Mississippi	Forrest	27.5	22.5	25.4	4
228	28037	Mississippi	Franklin	33.3	24.1	20.2	3
229	28041	Mississippi	Greene	26.8	19.6	24.1	4
230	28043	Mississippi	Grenada	22.3	20.9	22.5	2
231	28049	Mississippi	Hinds	21.2	19.9	20.8	2,3
232	28051	Mississippi	Holmes	53.2	41.1	42.5	2
233	28053	Mississippi	Humphreys	45.9	38.2	38.9	2
234	28055	Mississippi	Issaquena	49.3	33.2	40.5	2
235	28061	Mississippi	Jasper	30.7	22.7	22.7	3
236	28063	Mississippi	Jefferson	46.9	36.0	33.7	2
237	28065	Mississippi	Jefferson Davis	33.3	28.2	26.9	3
238	28067	Mississippi	Jones	22.7	19.8	20.5	4
239	28069	Mississippi	Kemper	35.1	26.0	28.3	3
240	28071	Mississippi	Lafayette	25.1	21.3	20.7	1
241	28075	Mississippi	Lauderdale	22.8	20.8	23.7	3

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242	28077	Mississippi	Lawrence	27.9	19.6	19.7	3
243	28079	Mississippi	Leake	29.6	23.3	24.9	2
244	28083	Mississippi	Leflore	38.9	34.8	35.6	2
245	28087	Mississippi	Lowndes	22.1	21.3	21.2	1
246	28091	Mississippi	Marion	29.6	24.8	27.0	4
247	28093	Mississippi	Marshall	30.0	21.9	23.0	1
248	28097	Mississippi	Montgomery	34.0	24.3	24.2	2
249	28099	Mississippi	Neshoba	26.6	21.0	22.5	3
250	28101	Mississippi	Newton	20.9	19.9	21.7	3
251	28103	Mississippi	Noxubee	41.4	32.8	31.6	3
252	28105	Mississippi	Oktibbeha	30.1	28.2	28.3	1,3
253	28107	Mississippi	Panola	33.8	25.3	22.7	2
254	28111	Mississippi	Perry	29.1	22.0	21.4	4
255	28113	Mississippi	Pike	32.9	25.3	30.1	3
256	28119	Mississippi	Quitman	41.6	33.1	34.3	2
257	28123	Mississippi	Scott	27.4	20.7	22.6	3
258	28125	Mississippi	Sharkey	47.5	38.3	35.0	2
259	28127	Mississippi	Simpson	22.7	21.6	23.1	3
260	28133	Mississippi	Sunflower	41.8	30.0	35.1	2
261	28135	Mississippi	Tallahatchie	41.9	32.2	37.2	2
262	28143	Mississippi	Tunica	56.8	33.1	31.3	2
263	28147	Mississippi	Walthall	35.9	27.8	24.1	3
264	28151	Mississippi	Washington	33.8	29.2	34.2	2
265	28153	Mississippi	Wayne	29.5	25.4	25.3	4
266	28157	Mississippi	Wilkinson	42.2	37.7	35.1	3
267	28159	Mississippi	Winston	26.6	23.7	23.0	1
268	28161	Mississippi	Yalobusha	26.4	21.8	22.9	2
269	28163	Mississippi	Yazoo	39.2	31.9	34.8	2
270	29001	Missouri	Adair	24.9	23.3	23.8	6
271	29035	Missouri	Carter	27.6	25.2	21.2	8
272	29069	Missouri	Dunklin	29.9	24.5	27.2	8
273	29119	Missouri	McDonald	20.6	20.7	21.4	7
274	29133	Missouri	Mississippi	29.7	23.7	28.4	8
275	29143	Missouri	New Madrid	26.9	22.1	25.0	8
276	29149	Missouri	Oregon	27.4	22.0	24.9	8

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277	29153	Missouri	Ozark	22.1	21.6	25.3	8
278	29155	Missouri	Pemiscot	35.8	30.4	30.9	8
279	29179	Missouri	Reynolds	24.2	20.1	22.1	8
280	29181	Missouri	Ripley	31.5	22.0	27.7	8
281	29185	Missouri	St. Clair	22.4	19.6	20.7	4
282	29203	Missouri	Shannon	24.1	26.9	26.4	8
283	29215	Missouri	Texas	22.9	21.4	29.9	8
284	29221	Missouri	Washington	27.2	20.8	22.0	8
285	29223	Missouri	Wayne	29.0	21.9	26.0	8
286	29229	Missouri	Wright	25.3	21.7	24.2	8
287	29510	Missouri	St. Louis city	24.6	24.6	24.3	1
288	30003	Montana	Big Horn	35.3	29.2	25.5	at large
289	30005	Montana	Blaine	27.7	28.1	24.3	at large
290	30035	Montana	Glacier	35.7	27.3	28.3	at large
291	30085	Montana	Roosevelt	27.7	32.4	23.9	at large
292	31173	Nebraska	Thurston	30.9	25.6	25.3	1
293	35003	New Mexico	Catron	25.6	24.5	23.2	2
294	35005	New Mexico	Chaves	22.4	21.3	22.0	2
295	35006	New Mexico	Cibola	33.6	24.8	26.9	2
296	35013	New Mexico	Doña Ana	26.5	25.4	25.6	2
297	35019	New Mexico	Guadalupe	38.5	21.6	25.1	2
298	35023	New Mexico	Hidalgo	20.7	27.3	26.7	2
299	35029	New Mexico	Luna	31.5	32.9	27.6	2
300	35031	New Mexico	McKinley	43.5	36.1	34.4	2,3
301	35033	New Mexico	Mora	36.2	25.4	25.2	3
302	35037	New Mexico	Quay	25.1	20.9	24.6	3
303	35039	New Mexico	Rio Arriba	27.5	20.3	22.5	3
304	35041	New Mexico	Roosevelt	26.9	22.7	22.3	2,3
305	35047	New Mexico	San Miguel	30.2	24.4	25.7	3
306	35051	New Mexico	Sierra	19.6	20.9	27.0	2
307	35053	New Mexico	Socorro	29.9	31.7	25.4	2
308	35055	New Mexico	Taos	27.5	20.9	22.4	3
309	36005	New York	Bronx	28.7	30.7	28.6	13,14,15,16

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310	36047	New York	Kings	22.7	25.1	20.6	7,8,9,10,11,12
311	37015	North Carolina	Bertie	25.9	23.5	24.4	1
312	37017	North Carolina	Bladen	21.9	21.0	26.4	7,9
313	37047	North Carolina	Columbus	24.0	22.7	24.6	7
314	37065	North Carolina	Edgecombe	20.9	19.6	23.9	1
315	37075	North Carolina	Graham	24.9	19.5	19.9	11
316	37083	North Carolina	Halifax	25.6	23.9	27.0	1
317	37117	North Carolina	Martin	22.3	20.2	22.5	1
318	37131	North Carolina	Northampton	23.6	21.3	22.4	1
319	37147	North Carolina	Pitt	22.1	20.3	21.5	1,3
320	37155	North Carolina	Robeson	24.1	22.8	27.8	9
321	37177	North Carolina	Tyrrell	25.0	23.3	27.3	3
322	37181	North Carolina	Vance	19.6	20.5	24.2	1
323	37187	North Carolina	Washington	20.4	21.8	26.1	1
324	38005	North Dakota	Benson	31.7	29.1	29.4	at large
325	38079	North Dakota	Rolette	40.7	31.0	26.7	at large
326	38085	North Dakota	Sioux	47.4	39.2	35.3	at large
327	39009	Ohio	Athens	28.7	27.4	28.8	6,15
328	39105	Ohio	Meigs	26.0	19.8	21.1	6
329	39163	Ohio	Vinton	23.6	20.0	20.8	15
330	40001	Oklahoma	Adair	26.7	23.2	29.0	2
331	40005	Oklahoma	Atoka	31.1	19.8	19.9	2
332	40015	Oklahoma	Caddo	27.8	21.7	21.3	3
333	40021	Oklahoma	Cherokee	28.8	22.9	23.2	2
334	40023	Oklahoma	Choctaw	32.7	24.3	26.8	2
335	40029	Oklahoma	Coal	27.4	23.1	21.9	2
336	40055	Oklahoma	Greer	23.4	19.6	26.7	3
337	40057	Oklahoma	Harmon	34.2	29.7	26.1	3
338	40061	Oklahoma	Haskell	27.1	20.5	21.1	2
339	40063	Oklahoma	Hughes	26.9	21.9	24.7	2
340	40069	Oklahoma	Johnston	28.5	22.0	21.9	2
341	40077	Oklahoma	Latimer	23.3	22.7	21.0	2
342	40089	Oklahoma	McCurtain	30.2	24.7	25.7	2
343	40107	Oklahoma	Okfuskee	29.4	23.0	25.1	2

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344	40119	Oklahoma	Payne	21.7	20.3	25.1	3
345	40127	Oklahoma	Pushmataha	30.2	23.2	22.0	2
346	40133	Oklahoma	Seminole	24.0	20.8	22.6	5
347	40135	Oklahoma	Sequoyah	24.7	19.8	19.6	2
348	40141	Oklahoma	Tillman	22.9	21.9	23.6	4
349	42101	Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	20.3	22.9	25.3	1,2,13
350	45005	South Carolina	Allendale	35.8	34.5	38.2	6
351	45009	South Carolina	Bamberg	28.2	27.8	28.4	6
352	45011	South Carolina	Barnwell	21.8	20.9	22.6	2
353	45027	South Carolina	Clarendon	29.0	23.1	24.9	6
354	45029	South Carolina	Colleton	23.4	21.1	23.4	1,6
355	45031	South Carolina	Darlington	19.9	20.3	21.1	7
356	45033	South Carolina	Dillon	28.1	24.2	25.6	7
357	45039	South Carolina	Fairfield	20.6	19.6	21.2	5
358	45049	South Carolina	Hampton	27.7	21.8	22.3	6
359	45053	South Carolina	Jasper	25.3	20.7	20.7	6
360	45061	South Carolina	Lee	29.6	21.8	27.7	5
361	45067	South Carolina	Marion	28.6	23.2	25.2	7
362	45069	South Carolina	Marlboro	26.6	21.7	28.1	7
363	45075	South Carolina	Orangeburg	24.9	21.4	22.7	2,6
364	45089	South Carolina	Williamsburg	28.7	27.9	29.8	6
365	46007	South Dakota	Bennett	37.6	39.2	33.8	at large
366	46017	South Dakota	Buffalo	45.1	56.9	39.5	at large
367	46023	South Dakota	Charles Mix	31.4	26.9	21.7	at large
368	46027	South Dakota	Clay	24.6	21.2	20.0	at large
369	46031	South Dakota	Corson	42.5	41.0	39.1	at large
370	46041	South Dakota	Dewey	44.4	33.6	27.5	at large
371	46071	South Dakota	Jackson	38.8	36.5	30.7	at large
372	46085	South Dakota	Lyman	24.7	24.3	22.3	at large
373	46095	South Dakota	Mellette	41.3	35.8	33.0	at large
374	46102	South Dakota	Oglala Lakota[c]	63.1	52.3	40.7	at large
375	46121	South Dakota	Todd	50.2	48.3	48.6	at large
376	46137	South Dakota	Ziebach	51.1	49.9	43.7	at large
377	47013	Tennessee	Campbell	26.8	22.8	24.1	2,3
378	47025	Tennessee	Claiborne	25.7	22.6	25.4	2

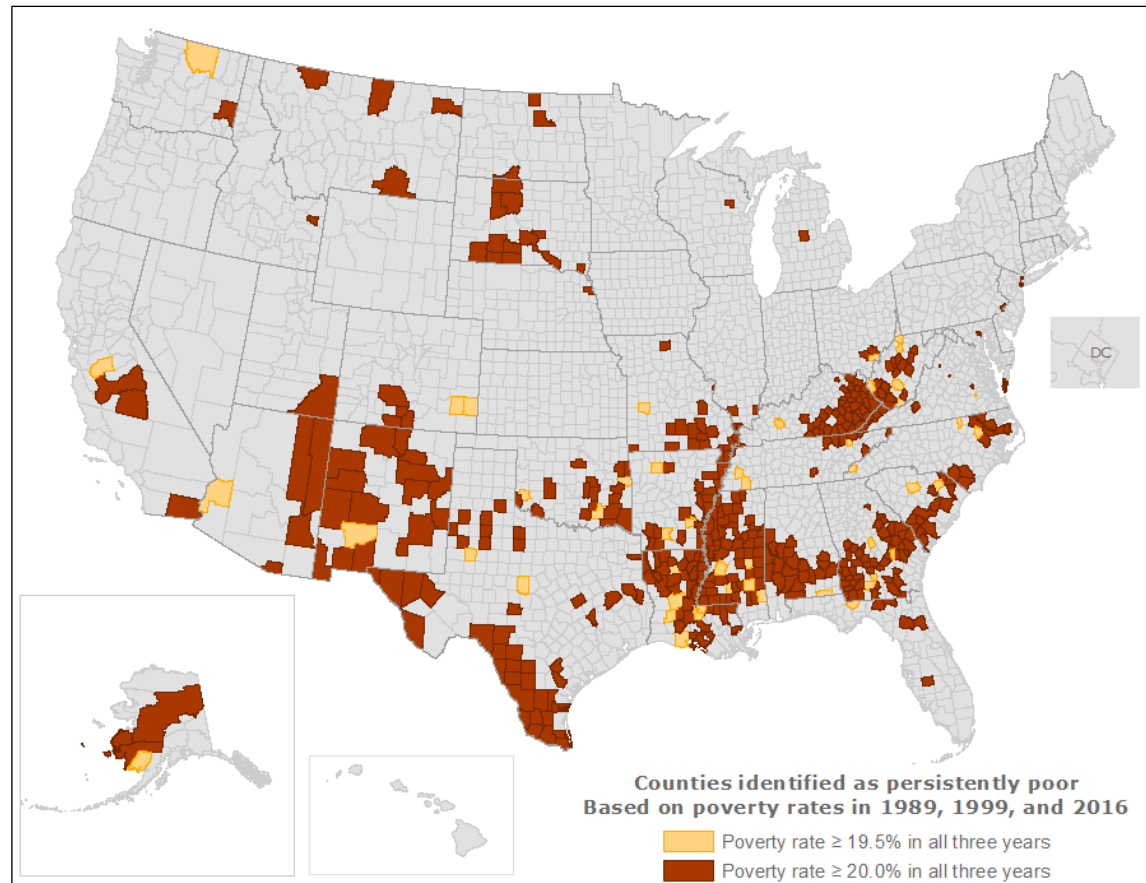| Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2016, from SAIPE	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]
379	47029	Tennessee	Cocke	25.3	22.5	24.2	1
380	47049	Tennessee	Fentress	32.3	23.1	21.4	6
381	47061	Tennessee	Grundy	23.9	25.8	22.6	4
382	47067	Tennessee	Hancock	40.0	29.4	30.9	1
383	47069	Tennessee	Hardeman	23.3	19.7	25.2	7
384	47075	Tennessee	Haywood	27.5	19.5	20.0	8
385	47091	Tennessee	Johnson	28.5	22.6	25.4	1
386	47095	Tennessee	Lake	27.5	23.6	42.7	8
387	47151	Tennessee	Scott	27.8	20.2	22.0	3
388	47173	Tennessee	Union	21.3	19.6	22.2	3
389	48025	Texas	Bee	27.4	24.0	27.0	34
390	48041	Texas	Brazos	26.7	26.9	24.9	17
391	48047	Texas	Brooks	36.8	40.2	32.2	15
392	48061	Texas	Cameron	39.7	33.1	29.1	34
393	48079	Texas	Cochran	28.3	27.0	23.5	19
394	48083	Texas	Coleman	24.9	19.9	20.1	11
395	48107	Texas	Crosby	29.5	28.1	24.1	19
396	48109	Texas	Culberson	29.8	25.1	23.6	23
397	48115	Texas	Dawson	30.5	19.7	21.4	11
398	48127	Texas	Dimmit	48.9	33.2	27.6	23
399	48131	Texas	Duval	39.0	27.2	26.3	15
400	48137	Texas	Edwards	41.7	31.6	23.3	23
401	48141	Texas	El Paso	26.8	23.8	22.7	16,23
402	48145	Texas	Falls	27.5	22.6	25.6	17
403	48153	Texas	Floyd	27.1	21.5	22.8	13,19
404	48163	Texas	Frio	39.1	29.0	25.8	23
405	48169	Texas	Garza	23.1	22.3	30.0	19
406	48191	Texas	Hall	29.1	26.3	25.8	13
407	48207	Texas	Haskell	20.8	22.8	24.5	19
408	48215	Texas	Hidalgo	41.9	35.9	31.2	15,28,34
409	48225	Texas	Houston	25.6	21.0	22.1	8
410	48229	Texas	Hudspeth	38.9	35.8	21.4	23
411	48247	Texas	Jim Hogg	35.3	25.9	27.9	15
412	48249	Texas	Jim Wells	30.3	24.1	23.2	34
413	48255	Texas	Karnes	36.5	21.9	21.8	15

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2016, from SAIPE	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]
414	48271	Texas	Kinney	28.6	24.0	20.0	23
415	48273	Texas	Kleberg	27.4	26.7	22.9	34
416	48275	Texas	Knox	23.6	22.9	21.1	13
417	48279	Texas	Lamb	27.1	20.9	21.5	19
418	48283	Texas	La Salle	37.0	29.8	26.2	23,28
419	48315	Texas	Marion	60.6	22.4	22.6	4
420	48323	Texas	Maverick	50.4	34.8	24.3	23
421	48327	Texas	Menard	31.1	25.8	21.4	11
422	48347	Texas	Nacogdoches	25.2	23.3	25.4	1
423	48377	Texas	Presidio	48.1	36.4	24.1	23
424	48389	Texas	Reeves	28.8	28.9	25.0	23
425	48405	Texas	San Augustine	29.7	21.2	23.8	1
426	48427	Texas	Starr	60.0	50.9	39.9	28
427	48445	Texas	Terry	25.5	23.3	21.8	19
428	48463	Texas	Uvalde	31.1	24.3	25.3	23
429	48465	Texas	Val Verde	36.4	26.1	20.7	23
430	48479	Texas	Webb	38.2	31.2	31.8	28
431	48489	Texas	Willacy	44.5	33.2	38.3	34
432	48505	Texas	Zapata	41.0	35.8	29.1	28
433	48507	Texas	Zavala	50.4	41.8	34.4	23
434	49037	Utah	San Juan	36.4	31.4	31.0	3
435	51027	Virginia	Buchanan	21.9	23.2	25.1	9
436	51051	Virginia	Dickenson	25.9	21.3	25.6	9
437	51105	Virginia	Lee	28.7	23.9	29.9	9
438	51121	Virginia	Montgomery	22.1	23.2	20.3	9
439	51131	Virginia	Northampton	26.6	20.5	20.3	2
440	51195	Virginia	Wise	21.6	20.0	23.5	9
441	51540	Virginia	Charlottesville city	23.7	25.9	22.8	5
442	51660	Virginia	Harrisonburg city	21.5	30.1	28.4	6
443	51720	Virginia	Norton city	26.7	22.8	23.0	9
444	51730	Virginia	Petersburg city	20.3	19.6	25.2	4
445	51750	Virginia	Radford city	32.2	31.4	27.2	9
446	51760	Virginia	Richmond city	20.9	21.4	26.2	4
447	53047	Washington	Okanogan	21.5	21.3	19.7	4
448	53075	Washington	Whitman	24.2	25.6	25.9	5

Count	FIPS Geographic Identification Code	State	County	Poverty Rate 1989 (1990 Census)	Poverty Rate 1999 (Census 2000)	Poverty Rate 2016, from SAIPE	Congressional District(s) Representing the County[a]
449	54001	West Virginia	Barbour	28.5	22.6	22.4	1
450	54005	West Virginia	Boone	27.0	22.0	24.2	3
451	54007	West Virginia	Braxton	25.8	22.0	21.3	2
452	54013	West Virginia	Calhoun	32.0	25.1	21.8	2
453	54015	West Virginia	Clay	39.2	27.5	29.0	2
454	54017	West Virginia	Doddridge	23.0	19.8	19.7	1
455	54019	West Virginia	Fayette	24.4	21.7	19.7	3
456	54021	West Virginia	Gilmer	33.5	25.9	27.1	1
457	54043	West Virginia	Lincoln	33.8	27.9	24.2	3
458	54045	West Virginia	Logan	27.7	24.1	24.4	3
459	54047	West Virginia	McDowell	37.7	37.7	36.3	3
460	54055	West Virginia	Mercer	20.4	19.7	20.2	3
461	54059	West Virginia	Mingo	30.9	29.7	28.2	3
462	54087	West Virginia	Roane	28.1	22.6	22.1	2
463	54089	West Virginia	Summers	24.5	24.4	24.7	3
464	54097	West Virginia	Upshur	21.2	20.0	20.2	2
465	54099	West Virginia	Wayne	21.8	19.6	21.5	3
466	54101	West Virginia	Webster	34.8	31.8	30.0	3
467	54103	West Virginia	Wetzel	20.5	19.8	19.5	1
468	54109	West Virginia	Wyoming	27.9	25.1	23.9	3
469	55078	Wisconsin	Menominee	48.7	28.8	27.2	8

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) tabulation of data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, 2016 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and Nation-Based Relationship File for Congressional Districts and Counties (115th Congress).

Notes: FIPS: Federal Information Processing Standard.

a. Numbers are ordinal, referring to the name of the congressional district(s) present in the county. For example, Barbour County, AL, is represented by Alabama's 2nd Congressional District (indicated by the 2). A congressional district may span multiple counties; conversely, a single county may be split among multiple congressional districts. Part of Clarke County, AL, for example, is represented by Alabama's 1st Congressional District (indicated by the 1) and part by the 7th Congressional District (indicated by the 7). Counties labeled "at large" are located in states that have only one member of the House of Representatives for the entire state.

b. Changed name and geographic code effective July 1, 2015, from Wade Hampton Census Area (02270) to Kusilvak Census Area (02158).

c. Changed name and geographic code effective May 1, 2015, from Shannon County (46113) to Oglala Lakota County (46102).

Figure 1. Persistent Poverty Counties Using Two Rounding Methods, Based on 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2016 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates

Counties identified as persistently poor
Based on poverty rates in 1989, 1999, and 2016

- Poverty rate ≥ 19.5% in all three years
- Poverty rate ≥ 20.0% in all three years

Source: Created by Congressional Research Service (CRS) using data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1990 Census, Census 2000, and 2016 Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

Appendix. Details on the Data Sources

Decennial Census of Population and Housing, "Long Form"

Poverty estimates are computed using data from household surveys, which are based on a sample of households. In order to obtain meaningful estimates for any geographic area, the sample has to include enough responses from that area so that selecting a different sample of households from that area would not likely result in a dramatically different estimate. If estimates for smaller geographic areas are desired, a larger sample size is needed. A national-level survey, for instance, could produce reliable estimates for the United States without obtaining any responses from many counties, particularly counties with small populations. In order to produce estimates for all 3,143 county areas in the nation, however, not only are responses needed from every county, but those responses have to be plentiful enough from each county so that the estimates are meaningful (i.e., their margins of error are not unhelpfully wide).

Before the mid-1990s, the only data source with a sample size large enough to provide meaningful estimates at the county level (and for other small geographic areas) was the decennial census. The other household surveys available prior to that time did not have a sample size large enough to produce meaningful estimates for small areas such as counties. Income questions were asked on the census long form, which was sent to one-sixth of all U.S. households; the rest received the census short form, which did not ask about income. While technically still a sample, one-sixth of all households was a large enough sample to provide poverty estimates for every county in the nation, and even for smaller areas such as small towns. The long form was discontinued after Census 2000, and therefore poverty data are no longer available from the decennial census. Beginning in the mid-1990s, however, two additional data sources were developed to ensure that poverty estimates for small areas such as counties would still be available: the American Community Survey (ACS), and the Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates program (SAIPE).

American Community Survey (ACS)

The ACS replaced the decennial census long form. It was developed to accommodate the needs of local government officials and other stakeholders who needed detailed information on small communities on a more frequent basis than once every 10 years. To that end, the ACS questionnaire was designed to reflect the same topics asked in the census long form.

In order to produce meaningful estimates for small communities, however, the ACS needs to collect a number of responses comparable to what was collected in the decennial census.[15] In order to collect that many responses while providing information more currently than once every 10 years, the ACS collects information from respondents continuously, in every month, as opposed to at one time of the year, and responses over time are pooled to provide estimates at varying geographic levels. To obtain estimates for geographic areas of 65,000 or more persons, one year's worth of responses are pooled—these are the ACS one-year estimates. For the smallest geographic levels, which include the complete set of U.S. counties, five years of monthly

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[15] A sample of approximately 18.3 million households received the Census 2000 long form. Scott Boggess and Nikki L. Graf, "Measuring Education: A Comparison of the Decennial Census and the American Community Survey," presented at Joint Statistical Meetings, San Francisco, CA, August 7, 2003. http://census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/working-papers/2003/acs/2003_Boggess_01_doc.pdf.
From 2012 to 2016, 17.7 million housing unit addresses were sampled in the ACS. http://www.census.gov/acs/www/methodology/sample-size-and-data-quality/sample-size/index.php.

responses are needed: these are the ACS five-year estimates. Even though data collection is ongoing, the publication of the data takes place only once every year, both for the one-year estimates and the estimates that represent the previous five-year span.

Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates (SAIPE)

The SAIPE program was developed in the 1990s in order to provide state and local government officials with poverty estimates for local areas in between the decennial census years. In the Improving America's Schools Act of 1994 (IASA, P.L. 103-382), which amended the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), Congress recognized that providing funding for children in disadvantaged communities created a need for poverty data for those communities that were more current than the once-a-decade census. In the IASA, Congress provided for the development and evaluation of the SAIPE program for its use in Title I-A funding allocations.[16]

SAIPE estimates are model-based, meaning they use a mathematical procedure to compute estimates using both survey data (ACS one-year data) and administrative data (from tax returns and numbers of participants in the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP). The modeling procedure produces estimates with less variability than estimates computed from survey data alone, especially for counties with small populations.

Guidance from the U.S. Census Bureau, "Which Data Source to Use"[17]

> The CPS ASEC[18] provides the most timely and accurate national data on income and is the source of official national poverty estimates, hence it is the preferred source for national analysis. Because of its large sample size, the ACS is preferred for subnational data on income and poverty by detailed demographic characteristics. The Census Bureau recommends using the ACS for 1-year estimates of income and poverty at the state level. Users looking for consistent, state-level trends before 2006 should use CPS ASEC 2-year averages.
>
> For substate areas, like counties, users should consider their specific needs when picking the appropriate data source. The SAIPE program produces overall poverty and household income 1-year estimates with standard errors usually smaller than direct survey estimates. Users looking to compare estimates of the number and percentage of people in poverty for counties or school districts or the median household income for counties should use SAIPE, especially if the population is less than 65,000. Users who need other characteristics such as poverty among Hispanics or median earnings, should use the ACS, where and when available.
>
> The SIPP[19] is the only Census Bureau source of longitudinal poverty data. It provides national estimates and since the 2004 Panel, provides reliable state-level estimates for select states. As SIPP collects monthly income over 3 or 4 year panels, it is also a source of poverty estimates for time periods more or less than one year, including monthly poverty rates.

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[16] Details about the origins of the SAIPE project are available on the Census Bureau's website at https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/saipe/about/origins.html.

[17] See http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/guidance/data-sources.html.

[18] *Author's note:* CPS ASEC: Current Population Survey Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

[19] *Author's note:* SIPP: Survey of Income and Program Participation.

Table A-1 below reproduces the Census Bureau's recommendations, summarized for various geographic levels:

Table A-1. Guidance on Poverty Data Sources by Geographic Level and Type of Estimate

Geographic Level	Cross-Sectional Estimates			Longitudinal Estimates
	Income/Poverty Rate	Detailed Characteristics	Year-to-Year Change	
United States	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC/ ACS 1-year estimates for detailed race groups	CPS ASEC	SIPP
States	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates/ CPS ASEC 2-year averages[a]	SIPP for select states[b]
Substate (areas with populations of 65,000 or more)	ACS 1-year estimates/ SAIPE for counties and school districts	ACS 1-year estimates	ACS 1-year estimates / SAIPE for counties and school districts	None
Substate (areas with populations less than 20,000)[d]	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities/ Census 2000	ACS 5-year estimates/ Census 2000	SAIPE for counties and school districts/ ACS using 5-year period estimates for all other geographic entities[c]	None
State-to-Nation comparison	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	CPS ASEC	SIPP for select states[b]

Source: Congressional Research Service (CRS) formatted reproduction of table by U.S. Census Bureau, with an expansion to the notes. Original table available at http://www.census.gov/topics/income-poverty/poverty/ guidance/data-sources.html.

Notes:

ACS = American Community Survey.

CPS ASEC = Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement.

SAIPE = Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.

SIPP = Survey of Income and Program Participation.

a. Use CPS ASEC two-year averages when examining state trends that include years prior to 2000.

b. Reliable estimates are available for select states, generally the most populous 20 states, beginning in the 2004 Panel.

c. Use non-overlapping periods for ACS trend analysis with multiyear estimates. For example, comparing 2006-2010 ACS five-year estimates with 2011-2015 ACS five-year estimates is preferred for identifying change.

d. *Author's note:* Data for areas with populations of 20,000 to 65,000 persons previously had been produced using ACS three-year estimates, but are now only produced using the ACS five-year estimates. ACS three-year estimates are no longer produced (with 2011-2013 data as the last in the series). For details, see http://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs/guidance/estimates.html.

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Acknowledgments

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